

wealth and freshness of poetic language, and an originality of poetic thought. 538

With such powers, Vazov— who had the additional [177] • merit of first acquainting Bulgarian literature with the tendencies of the Western literatures, especially French Romanticism— could not fail to exert an enormous influence on the social life of his day and even more on the literary life. Without his influence Bulgarian artistic literature would never have reached its present height, its poetry would not have been so enriched with rhythmic excellences, its prose would not have been inspired to discuss such complicated and interesting themes. The impulse exerted by Vazov on the literature of his country is one of the most glorious monuments to his talent and to the consciousness that he had as to his social mission. Conscious too of his duties as a national poet, Vazov, during the entire fifty years of his activity, never for a single moment laid down his pen and tried not to leave a single form of literature in which he had not experimented. He succeeded so well that he discovered new fields: he created new forms which his successors were to develop and he opened new paths from which not even the most advanced modernists have yet passed. A poet and a pioneer and in many fields still unsurpassed, that is what Vazov can say of himself.

One of the first to follow in the footsteps of Vazov was his friend, Konstantin Velichkov (1855-1907), who suffered much because of his enthusiastic love of art and his indifference to money. He had much to struggle against but he succeeded in leaving behind him three monuments, which will maintain his name in the roll of honor of Bulgarian culture. One monument is the

538 against the old and against those authors who had based
517 their art on the desire to give practical help to Bulgaria.
The new art could not fail to take a position directly
opposite to that of the older school, the dean of which
was Ivan Vazov.

As we might expect, the three authors who at the beginning of the twentieth century directed the new movement for the invigoration of Bulgarian literature, Pencho Slaveykov, P. K. Yavorov, and P. Yu. Todorov, declared an open struggle against the influence of Vazov. Today we see that this struggle, which for a while seemed to be between representatives of irreconcilable schools, was unnecessary, that there was no yawning gulf between Vazov and the three younger men, that both sides had much in common, that they were both competent, had a serious idea of their poetical functions which they understood as a real mission to help their neighbors, and did not lose themselves in a struggle over abstract principles. Today we see the influence which his opponents exerted on Vazov and the aid which his ability gave them for the struggle against him. Since Slaveykov, Yavorov and Todorov introduced a new element into Bulgarian literature, their struggle with Vazov can be explained as the obvious development of a new and really independent group.

538 At the head of this group is Pencho Slaveykov (1866-
517 1912), son of the old Petko Slaveykov, whom we have
177 mentioned above. Pencho Slaveykov drew his new ideas
from Germany where he lived for a while and where he
felt the Hellenic influence of Goethe, the lyric and heroic
humor of Heine and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and
Nietzsche. These influences, combined with

those of Russian literature, led Pencho Slaveykov to 538
break through the limitations of his lyric talents and to 517
create works which have significance for world literature 177
as well as for Bulgaria. The success of Pencho Slavey-
kov can be judged by the fact that in 1910, when an at-
tempt was made to win the Nobel Prize in Literature
for a Bulgarian poet, Pencho Slaveykov was put for-
ward as a candidate, and had it not been for his prema-
ture death in 1912 at the age of 46, he would probably
have received it. His poetic work which is really in-
ferior to that of Vazov in substance and direct inspira-
tion is superior to it in depth of thought and in its rich-
ness in universal problems, which the poet seeks to solve
with artistic perfection. Slaveykov is the first conscious
esthete among Bulgarian writers and he has also a deep-
ly philosophical intellect. His ripe thought, tinged with
pessimism and tempered with stoicism, enlightens and
permeates the heavy, golden-sweet honey of his works—
his splendid "Epic Songs", his tender lyric collection
"Dream of Happiness", his original anthology "On the
Islands of the Blessed". In this the poet under the pre-
sence of translating from various foreign poets prints
his own poems and he reveals various aspects of his cre-
ative personality in a series of clever biographical notes.
His thought stands out and gives power to the "Song of
Blood", an epic in which Slaveykov describes the up-
rising of 1876 and in which he tries to emphasize the
salient characteristics of the Bulgarians, to explain the
objects of their struggles and the nature of their oppres-
sion by the Turks, and by drawing a broad panorama of
Bulgarian social life before the liberation, to predict
the future of his country. It is further remarkable that

538 Slaveykov, although he based his poetic work on phil-
517 osophical and esthetic principles which he adopted from
177 Western Europe, yet remained loyal to the fundamental
characteristic of all Bulgarian writers; he did not spurn
reality, did not lose himself in impossible intellectual
speculations, did not give up his love for his native land,
but everywhere in his work he aimed to do good service
to his fatherland. Because of this Pencho Slaveykov
succeeded in creating works which were thoroughly in-
telligible to people who knew nothing of Bulgaria and
which were yet as Bulgarian in substance as were those
of his father Petko Slaveykov or Ivan Vazov. Such rec-
ognition is a mark of the high praise which Bulgarians
accord his works.

538 Many consider the close friend and companion of
Pencho Slaveykov, Peyu Yavorov (1878-1914), to be
more gifted and significant than he, and without doubt,
although he did not have the philosophical nature of
Slaveykov, he was a more inspired and skilful artist.
Yavorov enriched Bulgarian literature with nuances
which had previously been unknown. He acquainted it
with a great number of problems which perplex the
modern man, as he is torn between a materialistic view
of life and idealistic aspirations.

This struggle between faith and unbelief, between
the need to devote himself unreservedly to a cause and
the attempt to prove to his consciousness that such a
sacrifice is superfluous, between an intuitive acceptance
of all truths and a lack of confidence in human reason,
between a deep and almost religious reverence for wo-
man and an aversion to her, is the subject of his writings
and is also the distinguishing mark of the life of Yavorov.

538 has especial interest, since it compares Yavorov with his predecessors and it shows the union of purely Bulgarian features and universal aspirations, which are so typical of Yavorov who was both a Bulgarian and a member of the modern family of men with all of the contradictions involved.

To become a modern man and to be at the same time a Bulgarian and a Western European was the object of the third member of this group, Petko Yu. Todorov (177) (1879-1916). As a dramatist and an author of refined and elegant idyls, he introduced into his country the influence of Ibsen and he also strove to ennoble the Bulgarian folk songs and tales by using the material for original planned works, some of which have a symbolistic tendency. Todorov zealously strove to introduce into the Bulgarian palette those esthetic and philosophical principles, which seemed to him a logical outcome of literary and social development, and he did not realize at times that some of these principles were alien to the Bulgarian soul. As a result of this he did not find full freedom in the use of the folk lore material, which he might have used on a large scale. His best work are his idyls. These, the best in this form that Bulgaria has yet produced, were insufficiently valued when they appeared but now fifteen years after the death of the poet, they find conscious or unconscious imitation, especially in the works of the youngest writers with their slogan "Back to the native". We can see today that the dramas of Todorov, despite the contradictions between the symbolistic elements adopted from Ibsen and the tales and songs which are drawn from national sources, will also have a revival. The author's dramatic merits are great

THE PASSING OF DEMOCRACY

648 garia to St Petersburg, others wanted her chained to London, another party preferred Vienna, while a certain section had preferences for Berlin, and yet another group insisted that Bulgaria's foreign policy should be conducted from Constantinople. Unhappy land, her leaders endeavoured to tie her simultaneously to several mutually antagonistic protectors, and thus unwittingly acted against the interests of their country. Bulgaria suffered not so much from the treason of her neighbours, as from the short-sightedness and lack of scruples of those directing our foreign policy, in association with foreign consuls, whose protégés they were". (Kosta Arseniev, pp. 35-6.).

• 177 What moral forces remained, having survived Bulgaria's Europeanization, a process which was tantamount to the elimination of the patriarchal traditions of the Bulgarians, and their replacement by what was nothing but a thin veneer of civilization—were wholly absorbed in their conflict with Tsar Ferdinand, that great factor of evil in their country.

661 He, in a true Machiavellian spirit, spread corruption
517 broadcast, and vitiated the intelligentsia, in order to render all opposition to him impracticable and impossible. The diabolical refinements with which that process was pursued were set forth by Stoyan Mihailovsky, in his „Book for the Bulgarian people“, published in 1897. The ease with which the intelligentsia succumbed to the malign influences which surrounded it, is chiefly due to its extreme poverty. Having sundered all connection with the peasant, artisan or trading class, from which he sprang, the intellectual scorned the idea of obtaining his livelihood by any other means than that of state employ. This desire to get employment under the Government, which is almost a passion among the Bulgarians, could not be satisfied in respect of every claimant owing to the limited number of public posts, and led to the formation of a legion of

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The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Lon. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame¹

175 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called
101 Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section,
144 and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the sixth century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga.

463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country
181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate,
531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity

177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7).² and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and
592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement

342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

¹[For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a--Analyst]
²[See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a--Analyst]

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TITO AND GOLIATH

474 surplus may or may not remain to be divided among the peasants.
 423 Often, as Kolarov admitted, there is none. The rate at which it
 661 would have been divided if it had existed is then only of theoretical
 interest. There is no space here to indicate the punishments awaiting
 the peasants who infringe the new statute.¹¹ Even negligence is de-
 fined as "treason to the common good" and punished as—treason.
 But I must add one item contributed by a Bulgarian friend of mine,
 for it reveals clearly one of the important intentions of present Com-
 munist policy in Bulgaria. In this man's native village the coöper-
 ative contains both industrial and agricultural workers. The first
 group is scrupulously allotted the same number of ration cards as the
 second. Nothing could be fairer, except that the first group contains
 14 persons and the latter about 500. "Recipe for horse and rabbit
 stew: one horse, one rabbit."

Membership in collectives is "voluntary," but the meaning of this
 is shown by Prime Minister Chervenkov's description of what is to
 happen to peasants who do not join. "All tractors and agricultural
 machines belonging to peasants outside the coöperative farms should
 be confiscated," he has warned, and in future "only peasants belong-
 ing to coöperative farms can use tractors and machines." After this
 gloss on the 1950 model statute there is no need to go into further
 details. Peasants who do not have the use of farm machinery cannot
 fulfill their government quotas, let alone have anything left over to
 feed themselves and their families. They will "volunteer" or starve.

177 We have seen repeatedly that Bulgaria is the satellite where ex-
 648 treme Soviet measures are given their tryout. She was the first to
 suppress religious freedom and the first to introduce the system of
 local government by soviets. She was also the first, as already men-
 tioned, to become officially a one-party state, and Dimitrov was the
 first satellite leader to proclaim the advent of the dictatorship of the
 proletariat. Russia's reasons for pushing ahead in Bulgaria seem to
 be two. It is the country where, with the exception of Rumania, her
 physical domination comes closest to being absolute. But whereas
 Russians are contemptuous of Rumanians, and are hated in return,
 they feel close to Bulgarians in race and language and suppose that
 they will repay past favors by swinging naturally into their allotted

¹¹ Details are given in *The Economist*, London, May 27, 1950.

PRESCRIPTION: FORCE

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Soviet groove. Secondly, Bulgaria is highly important to Russia strategically. She flanks enemy Yugoslavia. She provides the only direct approach to Greece since Tito has closed the main route. She adjoins Turkey, on whom the Soviets desire to exert pressure from all directions. She is, as we have seen, Russia's chosen instrument of intervention in the Macedonian question. On every count she is the country which, more directly than any other except Poland, can be useful to Russia in the present line-up of European forces. It is not by chance that she and Poland had the honor of being the first to receive high officers of the Soviet Army as commanders-in-chief of their troops.

The sources of opposition are two. One is nationalism. It may be called Titoism or Kostovism, but it is always treason. Nationalists are dealt with as Petkov and Kostov were dealt with. These two, such poles apart, are simply conspicuous examples among tens of thousands who have suffered for opposing the Communization or Sovietization of their country. Any successors they may have, whether noble like Petkov or hateful like Kostov, will be put down with the same irresistible brutality.

The other source of opposition is the peasantry. The peasants resist being made into sharecroppers. They do not think that they are being forced into collectives so that a great social goal can be achieved but in order that a group of adventurers can exploit their hold on them and on the country more conveniently. The Communists are everything that peasants hate and fear—the city slicker, the government bureaucrat. These newcomers in the villages, wearing city clothes, often speaking with a foreign accent, urge the peasants to enter collectives for their own good. Those who do are only one degree better off than those who do not—they are allowed to live, while those who refuse starve. But they live as serfs. They will work for the rest of their lives, as they figure it, to support others who will not or cannot work so hard as they must do—other peasants who have let their lands run down and are glad to merge with those who have kept theirs up, and surplus townfolk who will never learn to “pay their way.” That there are other answers to such arguments than force does not matter. The answer has been given, and it is force.

i.e. Opposition to Sovietization --- Analyst]

6

FOLK-PSYCHOLOGY, ETC.

S
 124 those whose dream experiences would be the most interesting.
 787 Those who take dreams seriously avoid discussing their own
 dreams. By so doing they may realise an evil or check a
 propitious dream prophecy. The nature of dreams varies in
 interpretation as greatly as the interpretations of dream
 symbols. Some apparently take certain dreams for actual
 and real experience; some scarcely distinguish these more
 vivid impressions from actuality; others hold that sleep is a
 special state of mind and of body; and some that the spirit
 departs and returns—as many variations, in short, as there
 are folk-lore theories. The eyes, said one, when they close
 can go away and see things elsewhere. 'It is nothing more
 nor less than that the soul comes out of a man and goes
 about the world and only blood remains in the man to keep
 him alive.'¹ There are others who imply that the sleeper
 [513] undergoes no change or movement, but, none the less, at
 M times he can see in sleep things that are not actually there;
 S he can have visions. Human beings, who are endowed with
 754 a special nature, leave their bodies at night and become
 774 spirits, dragons or animals. In the neighbourhood of Gusinje,
 for instance, this idea of witches still prevails. In other parts
 I found memories of the *zmaj* or dragon-man, *stuhi*, *vedogoni*,
 etc.—men who during sleep become spirits or animals, such
 as bulls or dragons, and meet at night, or, endowed with
 supernatural strength, battle with evil spirits, enemies of their
 own villages, bringers of storms. From all accounts these ideas
 S are still alive in parts of Bulgaria, but everywhere else they
 754 are disappearing, or turn up only in the form of stories.
 774
 ● 177 *Viljanici*, who in ordinary life were herb doctors or seers, were
 791 also believed to have these powers of movement in sleep, of
 flight and of changing form.

S A distinction which is more than a linguistic one is made
 774 between *duša* (soul) and *duh* (spirit). A man breathes his last
 775 (*izdahne*) and his soul (*duša*) departs; for forty days it lingers
 above the grave or near its old home, after which tradition
 offers a variety of fates. The spirit (*duh*) is also spoken of as

¹ Zb. xix, p. 151.

BULGARIA EEI

almost all farms have high walls of unfired brick which are topped with a small roof of straw. The large gateway is also roofed over and has a small door for people. In the eastern Marica plain the fence is of wickerwork or consists merely of a hedge (Gellert, 1937: 161-62). In eastern Bulgaria the enclosure, if present, is a low one of brushwood (Gellert, 1934: 5).

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In the Marica plain there appears to be a difference between the enclosures in the east and west that cannot be attributed to the presence or absence of the necessary raw materials. Gellert believes that the high enclosures in the west are due to a persistence of Turkish traits (Gellert, 1937: 162). Also, in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan basins high walls are limited to the west (Gellert, 1937: 162).

[177]

In the mountains and the Sub-Balkan basins the yards are small and crowded together because there is little arable land (Gellert, 1937: 164). When the enclosures are of stone the yards are rectangular; when the fences are of wood or hedges the yards are often rounded and there is often much free land between the separate yards (Gellert, 1937: 165).

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Since the houses are generally built to shelter both men and farm animals and have a number of annexes built onto them, one would expect fewer separate farm buildings. Barns are not typical of central Bulgaria. In Ihtiman we find two-roomed barns made of timber-framing and mud. The eaves may be extended and supported by pillars to form a shelter. Only in the extreme east of the Marica plain are barns widespread. Here a small side annex is added to the barn; the entrance is on the short side where the eaves are extended to form a shelter (Gellert, 1937: 158). In Juricite one finds Turkish store houses being used by the Bulgarian population, although in east Bulgaria they are used almost exclusively by the Turks (Gellert, 1937: 160). These are large buildings of woven brushwood with a straw roof that extends far out to the sides. They are generally built on an incline. The entrance is on the short side and the back is rounded (fig. 39) (Gellert, 1934: 3). In Karlovo Basin one finds store houses of wickerwork with straw roofs which have poles attached to the ridge to prevent the straw from being blown away (Gellert, 1937: 159). Stables for sheep in east Bulgaria are long narrow huts of stone covered with straw or reed (Gellert, 1934: 3). In general the various sheds and shelters for animals are of poor construction and have no particular regional characteristics (Gellert, 1937: 159).

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Summer kitchens are numerous; they are either built onto the house or are in the open, in which case they are covered by a roof of straw, reed, brushwood or brick that is supported on four poles (Gellert, 1937: 160; 1934: 3).

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Buildings Outside the Village. Outside mountain villages one finds shepherds' huts of brushwood, round or rectangular in shape,

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Roumelia, — to those houses of the remaining parts of Greek or Turkish Thrace is complete.

This is evident. The whole of Thrace, not only during the Middle Ages, but also during the Turkish occupation, constituted a geograph-

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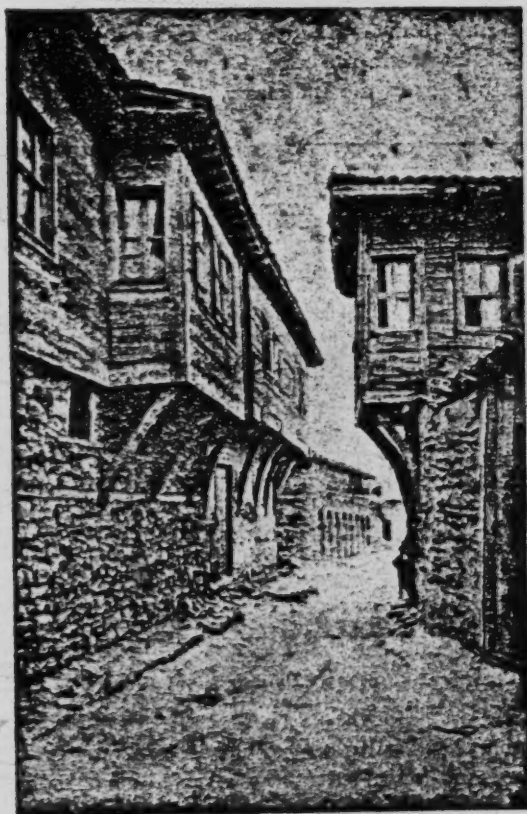


Fig. 35 A street at Messimvria

ical and political entity whose character, from an ethnological and cultural point of view, was purely Greek¹⁾. The Bulgars who established themselves at various times as labourers and farmers in the Thracian

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1) See K. M. Apostolides, Ρωμανία — Ζαγορά και τα της Θράκης όσα έτι της Βουλγαρικής αυτοκρατορίας; ('Αρχαιον Θράκη. Θεσσαλον 8 (1941-42) 80 foll. 83 foll).

342 farms of Turks or Greeks, found the always existing system of housing
 177 better and preferable to the simple hut dwellings to which they had
 been used, and adapted their way of life and of housing to that of the
 other inhabitants. The same holds good, as we shall see, for the
 houses of Middle Mountain (Sredna Gora) and for those of the Bul-
 garian coastal zone from Agathoupolis to Dionysopolis (to-day Baltsik),
 where the Greeks, until the anti-Greek actions of 1906, were by
 far predominating over the Bulgars, as regards population, develop-



Fig. 36 Houses at Baltsik (ancient Dionysopolis)

342 ment of economy and culture.¹⁾ That is why we find the ancient
 177 type of the megaron house splendidly retained in all the villages near
 Messimvria, that is in Aivlassis, Naimonas, Bana, Aspros, Ravdas etc.,
 (see p. 7 above) and the houses of towns and villages there, do not
 differ, as regards disposition of spaces and general construction, from
 those of the other Greek urban centres. (Figg. 35 and 36).

[363] C. Jirecek already considers the ancient Greek towns of the coast,
 such as Messimvria, Sozopolis, etc., as the model for all the small
 towns situated in the Tyrnavos area, as well as of those built on the

1) See J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 156.

Southern slopes of Haimos and the Northern side of Rodope, which are characterised by their stone-built two-storey houses, their tile covered roofs, their stone paved narrow streets and the small commercial street⁽¹⁾. He says on the other hand that «the best houses of Philippople present an entirely Southern character and were used as models in the whole area as far as Koprinititsa and Kalofer»⁽²⁾.

This truth is recognized by Zlatev who writes on page 156 of his book: «The house of Sredna Gora, as well as that of Southern Bulgaria, has without any doubt originated from the influence of Adria-

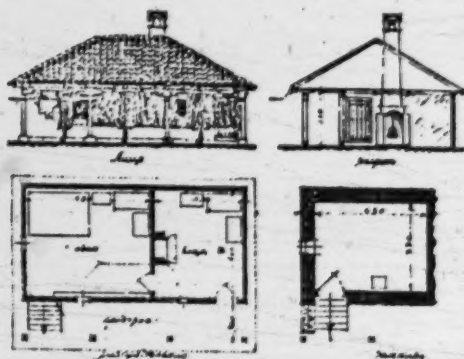


Fig. 37 Plan, section and front of a house in the village of Divlia, district of Radomir

(Zlatev, *Balg. kasta* fig. 83)

nople and Constantinople», by that he means the influence of Greek architecture on the formation of the houses of Southern Bulgaria.

But even to the West, on the plateau of Sofia, the houses of peasants, according to Zlatev and as it is shown by the plans of two typical houses of that area built in 1860 and 1870 and presented here (fig. 37 and 39), «do not differ at all as regards disposition of spaces,

1) C. Jirecek, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Wien 1891, p. 152.

2) C. Jirecek, *op. cit.* p. 163. «From the front-door, one enters a stone-paved courtyard, climbs a wide staircase, comes into an airy veranda supported by wooden beams and through it into the large rooms with big square windows. The well turned edge of the projecting roof and the enclosed or open balconies on the side that overlook the road, complete the pleasant impression caused by this house.» A contrary impression caused by the buildings of the Bulgarian towns is expressed by the author a few lines previously.

9: Megas

I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951

EH1 Greece

Bulgaria EE1

Slavic Peoples E16

Yugoslavia EF1

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Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kăsta=house), originally constituted the whole

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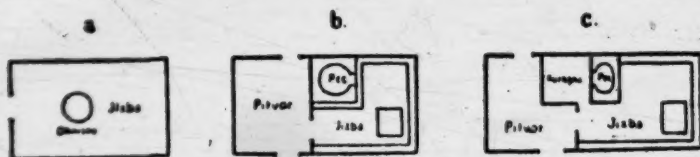


Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba=room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchynka=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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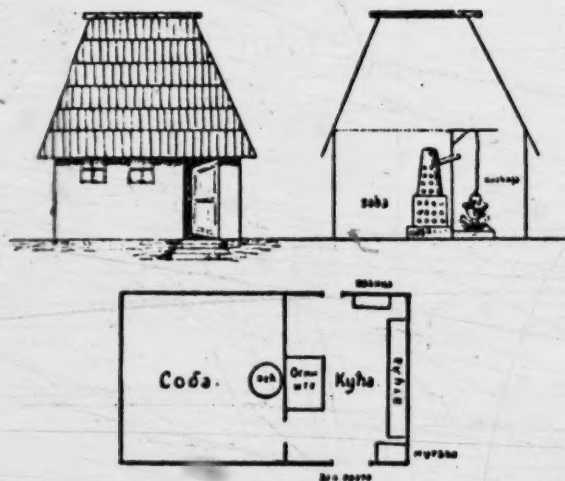


Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove, kyha=kitchen)

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● [177]

house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgarian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jirecek's descriptions, published towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house usually consists of a single space levelling with the

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place⁽¹⁾; as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): 'in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the *soba* to the *kuc'a*; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century⁽²⁾'.

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic.

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses⁽³⁾. Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called *Momtsilo*, *Kirtzalis*)⁽⁴⁾ since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (*heliakos*) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschs, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly⁽⁵⁾. It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses

1) C. Jirecek, op. cit. p. 138.

2) The Russian ethnologist Tokariot, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: 'Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof. The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the *soda*, the room, that now has an iron stove'. (*Μόρφωση*, I^o 1946 p. 126). According to R. Meringer (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Herzegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (*Kaminländer*).

3) According to Tokariot 'one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have 'an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped'.

4) See W. Slatarski, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165.

5) G. Megaa, *Ορεινά Οικίματα* pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p. 75]

vader's country⁽¹⁾ and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century⁽²⁾. But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1216-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40,000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50,000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (W. Slataraki, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15, 29). According to the Bulgarian historian Ivan Sakazov (*Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendants. Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitis or Skyloiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20,000 prisoners together with 3,000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See *Diog. Xanatalatos*, *Oi 'Ellhnes kai oi Boulgaroi eis tēn Makedonion kai Thracian*, A' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. K. Paparrigopoulos, *Isotop. 'Ell. 'Eθνous* 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. K. Amandos, *Isotopia tou Byzantinou Kōraiou*, A' 1939 p. 411. B' 1947, pp. 5, 173, 426. *Oi bōgeioi γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 1923 p. 26 and 40. Ant. Keramopoulos *Oi 'Ellhnes kai oi bōgeioi γείτονες*, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. G. A. Megas, *'Aδριανούπολις ἡ πολυαχρυσμένη* in the periodical *'Ellhnikī Dēmokratia* t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) L. Niederle, op. cit. 112. C. Jirecek says that: "Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king. Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinus, I, 144, edit. Bonn.

According to the Bulgarian historian I. Sakazov, op. cit. p. 41, "The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according

ing to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balkan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages) (!).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoön of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Renaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic (!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Renaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

time court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantium were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans. The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantium sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in I. Sakazov, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoulos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2000 years. (See Ant. Keramopoulos, Τὰ εἶδη τοῦ Κουτσόβλαχου Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see Ang. Hadjimichail, 'Ἡπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρῶματά. Ε' 1930 p. 1011 and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

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the Greek influence on Bulgarian architecture; but he attributes it to the Italian Renaissance elements of art introduced long before from Byzantium to the Western Europe as well. The Bulgarian author, however, not being able to ignore the historical truth completely, admits somewhat vaguely the links that connected his country with Hellenic civilisation even during the Turkish occupation. He says that: «The far reaching boundaries of the Ottoman empire isolated the Bulgarian race from the civilized world and thus neutralized the various influences. The Bulgarian people, being thus isolated, was placed under the influence of the Byzantine civilization under which it has been in the past and with which it was closely connected» (p. 155).

The remarks of Jovan Cvijic¹ are thus proved by the facts; he says the following about the Bulgarian house: «Before the Bulgarian liberation (1878) most of the houses belonged to the farm house (tsiflik) type (¹). On the Haimos mountains, however, and in the ends of the Hevros plain, and above all in the Rodope valleys we see big two-storied houses, due to Greco-mediterranean and Byzantine influence».

B. THE JUGOSLAV HOUSE

About the Yugoslav dwellings, I did not manage to have under consideration a survey so detailed as that I had about Bulgarian housings⁽²⁾; that is why I shall limit myself, for the time being, to the studies of R. Meringer on the popular house of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁽³⁾ and to elements given on the Yugoslav houses by some

1) He means the agricultural house of the slave-farmers of the Thessalian, Macedonian and Thracian valleys and of the other countries that were under Turkish rule. J. Cvijic, *Peninsule Balkanique* p. 250.

2) The relative surveys, which I could not find in the local libraries, are the following:

1. M. Murko, *Zur Geschichte des volkstümlichen Hauses bei den Süd-slaven* (Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft, vol. 35-36, Wien, 1906).
2. K. Rhamm, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slavisches Alterthumskunde I-III*, Braunschweig, 1905-1910 (II Altslav. Wohnhaus).
3. A. Haberlandt, *Volkskunst der Balkanländer*, Wien 1918.
4. A. Haberlandt, *Kulturwissenschaft. Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien u. Serbien*, Wien, 1917.
- 3) R. Meringer *Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (Wissenschaftl. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina, VII, 1900, pp. 249-290). R. Meringer, *Die Stellung des bosnischen Hauses und Blymo-*

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should report to the committee without discontinuing their work." The decree declares two hours overtime is "lawful," so that the working day in Bulgaria usually consists of ten hours, six days a week, and neither the recesses nor even the time when the workers are paid are included in the working time.²¹ Furthermore, "it is an archaic damaging tradition for some workers to be absent from work during religious holidays."²² And Article 79 of the Labor Code regulates the labor remuneration in cases of work on Sundays and the seven official holidays in a year, thus rendering any day of the year a potential, and usually an actual, working day. A Communist source itself admitted that Bulgarian enterprises "regularly use overtime work and deprive the workers of their week ends."²³

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Usually, overtime work does not help to fulfill or overfulfill the norm either. But even if it does, the quest for more production and productivity of labor never stops. The principal means for extracting a maximum effort from the workers are the so-called socialist competitions or emulations. They represent officially staged contests between individual workers or among plants to "overfulfill" the established norms. The cruelty of this system lies in the fact that as "competitions" are labelled "voluntary," no worker can claim overtime pay. Furthermore, competitions lead inexorably to the establishment of higher quotas and automatically lower the piece rates of even the general wage level.

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"Socialist competition has become a law of the socialist society and has turned into one of the most important methods for Communist education of the working people, an instrument for making them participate in the governmental build-up and the process of production," the Soviet Encyclopedia frankly states.²⁴ That Communist Bulgaria follows the identical path is plainly evident from the words of the president of the Bulgarian trade unions, Prakhov, who, in 1951, proclaimed "socialist competitions" as "a permanent system for building socialism" and gave the number of participants at "about 70 per cent" of all Bulgarian workers.²⁵

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Within the framework of this almost suicidal drive for ever-increasing daily per-

²¹ Art. 49, par. 3, and Art. 71 of the Code of Labor.

²² *Trud*, December 27, 1951.

²³ *Trud*, October 10, 1951.

²⁴ *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopediya*, 2d Ed., Vol. 14; *Disciplina Trudov*, in Russian.

465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters," Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages," "besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law," and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

177- Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be."

800 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

661 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of despair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Pernik, Haskovo, Gorna Dzhumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.)